FREEDOMS

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McCarthy is riding high; Brownell pushes wire-tap bill; Senate aims at labor

By Lawrence Emery

EARLIER Congressional big-talk about curbing McCarthy by last week had been translated into a series of deeds giving the Senator more power than ever; other Congressional and government figures were crowding each other for a share in the McCarthy act.

First test of the McCarthy strength was on Senate confirmation of Robert E. Lee for a post on the Federal Communications Commission. Lee, an old buddy of McCarthy, is an ex-FBI agent, a promoter for Texas oil-zillionaire H. L. Hunt's Facts Forum, and a prime figure in the McCarthy-sponsored back-alley political campaign that put John M. Butler of Maryland in the Senate.

Sen. Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) led the floor fight against Lee but was able to muster only 25 votes against confirmation to 58 for. The FCC, which regulates the radio and TV industry, now has two McCarthy friends on it, is ruled by a Republican majority for the first time in its history. Lee said he doesn't believe in government regulation, but added:

"When anyone steps out of line and takes advantage of that freedom, I believe in strong measures to curb him."

2 MEN WITH GUTS: When some Senators suggested they might try to block a McCarthy appropriation this year, his Republican colleagues responded by putting him on the Senate Rules Committee, which has first say on committee appropriations. Only Sen. Wayne Morse (Ind-Ore.) had the courage to vote against the appointment. McCarthy, who organized the book-burning in U.S. overseas libraries, also became a member of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library. The Senator got his $214,000 appropriation; only Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), voted against.

Last week McCarthy was off on an 8-day speech-making tour sponsored and paid for by the Republican Natl. Committee. His theme: "Twenty Years of Treason"; his target: the Democratic Party.

Earlier McCarthy had lured back to his committee three Democrats who had walked out six months ago in protest against his "one-man rule." The price of their return was cheap: they get a say in hiring and firing staff members, now rate their own counsel and a committee clerk. Everybody was happy; as Sen. Mundt put it: "We can have a good bipartisan commitee again."

BROWNELL BUSY: With McCarthy leading the pack, witch-hunters and

(Continued on Page 6)

ASP Photo Workshop

This Is Negro History Week (see pages 5-6)

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT AT THE FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE

How the man-in-the-street in Berlin feels about Germany's future

By George Wheeler
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

BERLIN (by airmail)

SINCE the last meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers the two parts of Germany have traveled a long way in different directions. Bonn Germany has a self-styled "free economy" of Krupp-Dulles-Schacht manufacture, dominated by the leading figures of the Hitler era. The only ones not back in power are those who did not survive the war they started, or are still held under international control in Spandau Prison near Berlin.

The German Democratic Republic has taken a different course: land reform; nationalization of heavy industry and trade; a planned economy. This program eliminated the economic base of the militarists, monopolists and Nazis. Propaganda for war is outlawed; present boundaries are recognized as the "boundaries of peace," and friendly relations have been developed with Poland and Czechoslovakia. An enormous investment was made in heavy industry. This left room for only moderate gains in the standard of living—aside from great gains in such matters as social security.

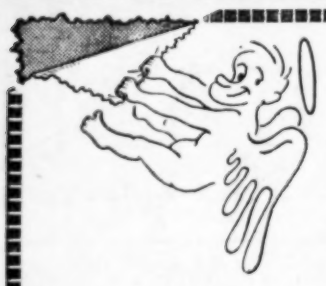
A NEW LOOK: Now, with the adoption of the "New Course," a sharp—but still uneven—advance in the standard of living is taking place. The New Course also involves a change in attitude that affects the whole culture. There is more criticism and more humor in the press, more consideration of the problems of living, a relaxation and feeling that, after all, there is time to enjoy life as well as build the country. This carries over into the attitude of the people toward the Berlin talks. They feel the initiative in international affairs no longer lies with the imperialists; that the way is now opening for settlement of their own problems, just as there is more hope for settlement of the world's problems.

All of the German people want to "eat from one dish," as they put it. But the question is how. The people of E. Germany want free elections. But they do not want them to be mechanically free so that the monopolists can use their great powers to buy and influence votes, so that the Nazi criminals can be "free" to vote and run for office. They want the terms of the Potsdam agreement in regard to denazification, democratization, and demilitarization to be respected—with a proper regard for the defense of their country. They also believe that their country can live in peace only if it is genuinely neutral. One-sided military pacts such as NATO will bring no security and block German unity. As one German scoffed: "Adenauer offers troops to the West—and his signature to the Soviet Union. Can anyone expect such an offer to be accepted?"

MADE IN U.S.A.: Observers just back from Bonn report it is difficult to over-state the extent of re-nazification, the rebirth of militarism and ultra-nationalism. For example, Bonn Transport Minister H. S. Seebohm has a map in his office showing Czechoslovakia as "German territory." The militarists owe their rehabilitation to Washington; their personal careers depend on continuance of the Bonn regime because most are war criminals disqualified for further service by the Potsdam agreement. The cartelists know that the people of W. Germany and Berlin have repeatedly voted to nationalize heavy industry—referendums vetoed by Gen. Clay, with the promise that the question would be reopened when Germany was reunited. Will those promises be fulfilled? Or will the Dulles-Adenauer demand that the "free" economy of the cartels be extended over all Germany be a precondition for unity?

The solution of these problems was agreed to at Potsdam and the U.S.S.R. now demands that the signatures to that agreement be respected. Dulles' charge that the U.S.S.R. is attempting to impose a new "Versailles Treaty" is a complete misstatement. The U.S.S.R. for perfectly obvious reasons wants a friendly, at least neutral Germany. A lasting peace can only be built on this basis—and the man in the street here knows it.

STALLSCHREIBERSTRASSE IN BERLIN AFTER AN ANGLO-AMERICAN BOMBING RAID MARCH 28, 1945
It will take more than the Dulles-Adenauer line to persuade Germany to return to this



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THE MAIL BAG

Emanuel Bloch

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

For the many who had the proud privilege of calling Emanuel Bloch "friend" his passing is a double bereavement. It has severed us from the time of warm, human relationship. But we also share with our fellows the world over their grief for the loss of a man who for us all was the embodiment of integrity, fortitude, compassion and unflagging loyalty to the principles by which he moulded his life. Our most poignant regret must be that his physical endurance succumbed to the well-nigh superhuman burdens an unflagging spirit imposed upon it.

At any age, the death of such human beings will always be untimely—for we can never resign ourselves to bidding them farewell. Our first shock impels us to the feeling that "we shall never see his like again." But we shall. For the reason and purpose of such a life is to inspire those who live on, to the end that "all our days we shall walk bravelier."

Muriel L. Symington

●

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I am sure most GUARDIAN readers will agree that the most fitting tribute possible to the memory of Emanuel Bloch is a contribution to the Guardian Sustaining Fund. On the day of his death the news came that the Rosenberg Children's Trust Fund had reached its quota of $50,000, in great measure through the personal effort of Mr. Bloch. In this humane undertaking, Mr. Bloch stressed the primary role of the GUARDIAN and its readers in bringing the Rosenberg Case to the attention of the nation and the world. I offer a contribution of $25 in memory of one of the truly great men of our time, and I urge all GUARDIAN readers to make similar contributions according to their means.

A Friend

●

HARRISON, IDAHO

Enclosed is a check for $25. Please use it in whatever way you think would have pleased Emanuel Bloch. Mrs. Bert Russell

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The persecuted and the prosecuted have lost a champion. . . . A death in no small measure due to his pygmy detractors and villifiers, who harassed him as much as they harassed those he so stoutly and bravely defended. Emanuel Bloch was a man "whose head was high, and whose faith was strong."

David Veritas

●

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

A few months ago I started to write a letter to Emanuel Bloch. I never could find the right words to express my admiration for that unselfish soul, who tried to save two innocent parents from the electric chair. Every time I opened my box containing the correspondence I saw "Dear Mr. Bloch" and the blank space beneath.

When I finally heard the sad news I cried my heart out. He had so much grief in his life, but who was as strong as he and who was not inspired by his devotion?

He could not see my tears or smell my flowers, but the enclosed $10 will strengthen the truth we all believe in. R. Eskenazi

●

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Because he dared to criticize a government that permitted innocent citizens to go to the electric chair, the slobbering legal wolves ringed him around and howled for his blood! Now, far removed from the jungle, he doesn't hear the wolves. M. L.

Didn't hire Matusow

SAN CRISTOBAL, N. M.

The Feb. 1 issue on page 6 under its Labor column carries the story on the trial of Clinton Jencks. One "star" witness against Jencks was Harvey Matusow. We (the Vincents) are reported as having hired Matusow when he lost his job on a New York newspaper.

To keep the facts straight, we did not hire this stoolpigeon.

Craig and Jenny Vincent

"It wouldn't do any good to write to my Congressman. I'm my Congressman!"

Too much economy?

FREEPORT, N. Y.

The laudable program of the Progressive Party which you summarized (Feb. 1) was rather carelessly telescoped by someone, it seems to me.

For instance, the shorthand version of minimum pay demands ($37.50) and weekly unemployment compensation ($50) would make it appear that it advocated subsidizing loafing—which, of course, it did not intend to.

Also, the advocacy of "full Negro registration in the South" may be misinterpreted as a call for police-state measures against the Negro people rather than extending them the right to vote.

These and other not-so-glaring economies in words underscore the need to be more on guard to avoid poor formulations of sound ideas and proposals. M. F.

A man lay weeping

CAPE ELIZABETH, ME.

The lines below were suggested by Robert Alden's account in the N. Y. Times Jan. 21, describing the scene at the Seoul railroad station when the released prisoners stopped there en route to the Republic of Korea Army Induction Center:

"Somehow the most heartbreaking searchers of all were the old men, many of whom supported themselves on staffs. They were like men possessed in their hunt for sons everyone else had probably given up for lost.

"One bent old man was pushed back time and again by the crowd. Often the soldiers roughly turned him aside, but he persisted. . . . At least three times he fell and then struggled to his feet. At the last car he was knocked down again and did not even try to get up—he just lay there weeping."

KOREAN PROPHECY

Unto us a son was sent—
Who soon to war and prison went
But war is over, the battle done-
Where is he now? Where is my son?

Get up, old man, be still, move on;
Not here your son, the boy is gone
And old man's staff and grieving head
Will not avail to raise the dead.

It's in the ground your son does rest;
Dust and ashes, his bequest.
Food and fire he needs no more
Comfort those who make new war.

A child is born, dear and blessed,
In dust and ashes does he rest
Fire and food to taste no more?
O cursed be those who train for war.

Accursed all who plan for strife;
War breeds war but peace is life.
And the tears of man, his laboring breath
Shall bind the atom and conquer death.

Tamsin Day

Save David Hyun

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Could I also remind our readers that David Hyun, Korean-born architect, is now out on bail, after five months' detention by the Immigration Dept.? The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals may rule on his case any day. If the decision is unfavorable, he can be deported, under the McCarran-Walter Law, to South Korea immediately.

Stanley W. Earl, Commissioner of Public Affairs, Portland, Ore., who was in Korea for a year on a special government mission, wrote: "I will say unqualifiedly that David Hyun would be executed by the South Korean government if he is deported."

David's father, Rev. Soon Hyun, was a Methodist minister in Hawaii and Korea for 35 years. He was a leading figure in the fight for Korean independence and differed sharply with Syngman Rhee. Two of his former colleagues, Kim Koo and Lyuh Woon Hyung, who opposed Rhee, have been assassinated.

The McCarran-Walter Law says that foreign-born cannot be deported to countries where they may face physical persecution.

If you want to save David's life . . . write your Congressman, write Attorney-General Brownell to withdraw the deportation order against David Hyun. Rosemary Lusher

How crazy can you get dept.

Colorado's young men, who had not shown much eagerness to join the Air Guard, saw the light when recruiters ran radio and TV commercials in jive talk. "Billy, boy," the plugs went, "you haven't felt it, man. Slide into the armory for the complete. Air Guardsmen are hip. They feel it. They're the greatest. You can keep on panning gold in Clear Creek while wearing those cool blue threads." When they heard that "Jack, you're not in it, you're just not in it—I mean you're really not in it if you haven't joined the Air Guard. It's real nervous," the young men could not wait. Enlistments tripled, and station managers applauded, explaining, "Our spots have been so pork-pie but these are real cool. Dig us, Daddy-O." National officials dug them, now plan to use jivy plugs throughout the 48.

—Life, Feb. 1.

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"What we believe in waits latent forever through all the continents; invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, knows no discouragement; waiting patiently, waiting its time."

—WALT WHITMAN.

REPORT TO READERS

Stop the lynchings!

IN THIS NEGRO HISTORY WEEK OF 1954, dedicated to the epic struggle of Negro Americans from slavery to full freedom, there is one special and urgent act you can perform: write to Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, Sacramento, Calif., asking him to spare the life of Wesley Robert Wells, 44-year-old Negro who has spent most of his life in California jails. Unless Knight intervenes, Wells will die April 9 in the San Quentin gas chamber for throwing a cuspidor at a prison guard. We ask you also to urge as many of your friends as you can to write similar letters.

Why the special urgency? Because although the case of Wesley Wells is now well-known to the whole state of California, the details of it have been kept from the people of the rest of the country except through the agency of the GUARDIAN, the Negro press and very few other media.

FOR EXAMPLE, the N. Y. **Times** of Sunday, Feb. 7, in its early "mail" edition, carried a full column story on the Wells case but in later editions the story disappeared. This means, simply, that the **Times** has shriven its "objective" soul but the bulk of its readers still do not know the story.

GUARDIAN readers will recall that the U. S. press, including the **Times,** similarly refused to print details of the Trenton Six case for almost a full year while a campaign begun by the GUARDIAN to save their lives was in progress. When the New Jersey Supreme Court reversed their convictions in 1949, the press was finally forced to print details, but not until the people themselves, with no assistance from the "free press," won a signal victory for justice. Five of the Trenton Six finally won freedom, a sixth, Collis English, died in jail. But even at the end, the press still smeared the Trenton Six campaign as "Red."

It is a matter of history, too, that California's Tom Mooney case broke through press censorship to the rest of the American people when workers in Petrograd (now Leningrad) confronted an American labor delegation in 1918 with cries of "What about Mooney?" Perplexed correspondents wired the story home and in this way the Mooney case became generally known. Mooney's life was saved, although it took 20 years more to win freedom for him.

SIMILARLY, the case of Wesley Robert Wells can be brought to the attention of America despite the press blackout, just as GUARDIAN readers forced the Trenton case to national and world attention in 1948-49, and did the same with the Rosenberg case in 1951-52.

The job falls on you, to help bring the concern of your neighbors to the attention of Gov. Knight. We know you will tackle this job to the best of your ability.

WE FEEL IT ESSENTIAL TO ADD that probably in no other way except through the GUARDIAN can your friends and neighbors learn of issues such as the Wells case. Have you introduced GUARDIAN to everyone you think should be receiving it? We urge you to do so, as your contribution to piercing the press curtain on the issues which must concern all just and humane people.

—THE EDITORS

AFTER 8 YEARS AND $300,000,000,000

West's 'policy of strength' a failure

By Tabitha Petran

AS the Berlin conference ended its second week, U.S. editors painted the familiar picture of an obstinate U.S.S.R. blocking agreement because it rejected the West's concept of "free elections" as the condition for uniting Germany. The real picture was quite different and increasingly hard to conceal: a demonstration of the weakness of the West's "policy of strength" versus the strength of Soviet diplomacy for peace.

After eight years and over $300 billion spent on building "positions of strength," Washington found "atom-rattling" (as Defense Secy. Wilson calls it) inapplicable to the world's real problems, which the U.S.S.R.'s Molotov persisted in talking about. The **Christian Science Monitor** (2/2) noted "the intrinsic weakness of [the West's] bargaining position" at Berlin; the N.Y. **Mirror** saw "a great danger of Russia winning another diplomatic victory of grand dimensions."

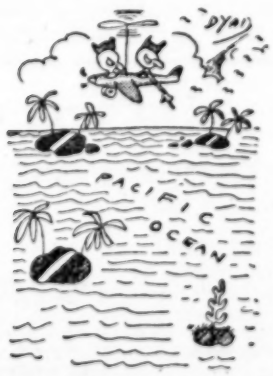
PLEASANT "OVERTURES": Trying at first to force a quick showdown, Secy. Dulles only revealed his fear that the longer the conference, the greater this "danger." Yet he decided "not to force an early break. . . . A decisive advantage had not been gained" due to the widespread European interest in "Soviet overtures" (N.Y. **Times**, 2/7). The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (2/7) explained the West's "paradoxically difficult problem" in ending the talks:

> ". . . Responsibility to European opinion—to a feeling built up for the last year that the U.S. doesn't really want peace or doesn't want to see the cold war end—must be taken into account. . . ."

The possibility of some Western act of desperation was suggested by wishful U.S. reports: "E. Zone Unrest Sensed in Berlin" (**NYT**, 2/8), with "overtones of the June 17 riot" (**NYHT**, 2/7); talk of "massive' U.S. intervention in Indo-China. Barring this, Soviet diplomacy—addressing itself to the world's need for peace, security and trade—seemed likely to retain the initiative, succeed in making Berlin, whatever its formal outcome, the prelude to further steps to normal world relations.

Peace

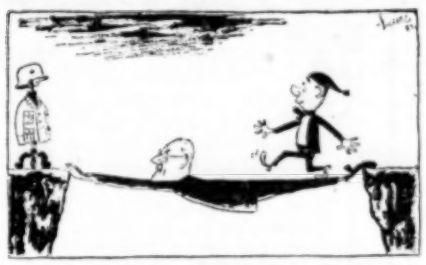
Flaring of the 8-year-old Indo-China war over a wider territory than ever before, and large-scale defections of "free world" troops to the people's army under Ho Chi Minh, underscored



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Ike's slipping—there's no airstrip on that one."

the dual crisis developing in Washington's "strong" policy in Asia and Europe. While Molotov in Berlin offered the way to settlement in Asia through a five-power conference with China, Washington mustered all efforts "to prevent a negotiated peace" (Hanson Baldwin, **NYT**, 2/7). Additional bombers and 200 U.S. Air Force technicians were ordered into the fight, as the Natl. Security Council debated all-out air-naval support, blockade of China, even dispatch of U.S. troops. (The N.Y. **Daily News**, 2/9, said 450 U.S. Air Force



Frankfurter Rundschau

Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Dulles

men, sent to Indo-China in the past eight months, are already performing combat duty in fighting areas.)

To Washington a negotiated peace spells "the loss of Indo-China," since "most of the populace of Viet Nam" supports Ho Chi Minh (Baldwin). The **NYT** (2/6) complained: "It is not quite clear how peace would be made with . . . Ho who . . . might win a majority in a national election." But a negotiated peace is demanded almost unanimously by France. Foreign Minister Bidault, under strong home pressure "to spend less time in Berlin defending the American-backed European Army and more in trying to halt the fighting in Indo-China" (**NYHT**, 2/6), urged Dulles to agree to five-power talks (**INS**, 2/6). Investment of bombers, napalm, all the means of killing, adding up to billions, had brought Washington to the choice of negotiated peace or all-out intervention. Since, after Korea, it shies away from the latter, a Far East Conference seemed at least possible, although Washington, as in Korea, would certainly block it as long as possible.

Security

"If fear of German militarism can be called an *idée fixe*, then not Russia alone but most of W. Europe is seized with it," wrote Alvarez del Vayo after 10 months in Europe (**Nation**, 2/6). The U.S. wants a remilitarized W. Germany as the keystone of its alliance; the U.S.S.R. wants a united neutral Germany. The unification plans presented at Berlin are geared to these respective goals.

Soviet emphasis is on a peace treaty confirming present frontiers, limiting arms, barring participation in any alliance directed against any World War II ally; it proposes free elections not as the condition of unity but as the product of united E. and W. German action, to be conducted by Germans, after occupying troops have left. Its election proposal corresponds with what happened in the West zones where the occupying powers appointed provisional cabinets, which then organized state elections, with state parliaments in turn electing the Bonn Council, which then organized the 1949 Bundestag elections. As Tory MP Lord Hinchingbrooke pointed out (London **Times**, 1/14), the Western demand now for all-German "prior free elections" is therefore

> ". . . a reversal of historical precedent . . . [and is] not intended for realization in cold fact so much as to establish a certain cause of breakdown."

"WE WILL LOSE EUROPE": When the West's representatives last week insisted that a Germany unified on their terms would have a "free choice" about joining the European Defense Community, the pretense was punctured by Molotov who read the texts of the Bonn and Paris contracts binding Germany to EDC for 50 years. The Three's repeated assurances that Germany can leave EDC if it likes will undermine the whole pro-EDC campaign in France, which is based on the claim that Germany will have no such choice. Molotov suggested that the real choice could be made in a plebiscite by the German people to choose EDC or a peace treaty. The U.S. press pictured all Europe rooting for the Western "free election" demand. But author H. H. Tetens wrote (to the **NYT** (2/2):

> "Unfortunately, public opinion in the U.S. is not fully aware of the change of climate that has taken place in Europe. . . . If we rearm Germany, we will lose Europe."

Trade and jobs

To Washington, Soviet trade with the West adds up to "an economic imperialism more sinister than [former Nazi Finance Minister] Schacht's" (**Barron's**, (2/1). The recent Soviet offer to buy ⅔ of the U.S.'s wasting butter surplus was rejected because to Washington "it is almost unthinkable that U.S. agriculture should be rescued by Soviet gold from its own internal predicament" (Joseph C. Harsch, **CSM**, 1/21). As a result, the butter surplus, growing by 500 tons a day, will reach 400 million pounds by March 31, and not a buyer in sight. With all farm surpluses mounting, industrial unemployment still on the rise (380,000 factory workers lost jobs last month), it remains "unthinkable" for the U.S. to respond to Soviet suggestions that it would buy U.S. farm products, farm and light industry machinery (**NYT**, 1/14).

BRITONS WANTING WORK: But for other nations Soviet trade means jobs. In England, hundreds are already employed making air compressors for China. In Lowestoft some 600 idle men will get jobs building the 20 trawlers

Wall Street Journal

"Oh, they won't harm you, Mr. Byrnes—just taking your scent."

contracted for by the U.S.S.R. last month. Said the **NYT** (2/6):

> "Unemployment has developed in that area. . . . Warnings against the dangers of trade with the Soviet Union make little impression. Many people . . . remember . . . being machine-gunned daily by Luftwaffe pilots, and they would rather trade with the Russians than the Germans. The attitude in Lowestoft exemplifies the unofficial one in this country."

This "unofficial attitude" makes it virtually impossible for the Churchill government to reject the Soviet offer to buy for cash, in the next three years, $1.12 billion worth of tankers, cargo ships, industrial, railroad equipment, raw materials and food. The offer came as 1953 exports again showed a decline, with a 10% drop in sales to the U.S. in the 4th quarter; and as government and employers fought the biggest wave of wage claims in a decade on the ground that raises would ruin Britain's export position. Under the Soviet deal, British exports to the U.S.S.R. would increase 17 times to $370 million annually.

"LIFE POINTS THE WAY": A similar "unofficial attitude" prevails in France, whose $50 million China trade pact is lagging owing to refusal of licenses by COCOM (committee through which the U.S. controls East-West trade). French workers last week heard the Laniel cabinet reject a government wage committee's recommendations for a rise in minimum pay rates, on the ground that it would make another devaluation of the franc inevitable (to keep exports competitively priced).

Washington called the Soviet offer to Britain "propaganda," reminded London most of the items mentioned are on the embargo list. But COCOM's postponed December meeting will be held soon, with powerful pressure building up to revise the embargo lists (**Journal of Commerce**, 2/4).

Life itself, Molotov said at Berlin, "will point the way to solution of economic problems." But not, he added, to military problems. Although Berlin is registering, beneath the surface, progress toward settlement, the threat of atomic-hydrogen war, of reviving militarism, remain formidable roadblocks on the way to peace.

"Worth a large gamble"

Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the north are exportable tin, tungsten, zinc, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; and in the south are rice, rubber, tea, pepper, cattle and hides. . . . It is of high strategic value . . . two important ports are excellent bases.
—N. Y. **Times**, Feb. 12, 1950.

MESSAGES FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD

Bloch's death mourned

MESSAGES of condolence, admiration and love were pouring in from around the world last week following the death of Emanuel Bloch, attorney for the executed Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. They came especially from lawyers in W. European countries whose respect for Bloch contrasted with the action of the New York Bar Assn. to discipline or disbar him. In Paris, hundreds of lawyers in their robes gathered Feb. 1 to pay Bloch homage before the monument to the dead at the Palais de Justice, where they laid a wreath. In behalf of the French Natl. Comm. to Vindicate the Rosenbergs, this message was sent to Emanuel Bloch's father, Alexander, by lawyers Andre Haas, Paul Villard and Charles Owezarek:

> "Millions of Frenchmen who protested against the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg admired the magnificent courage of 'Manny,' who will live in history as the symbol of the defense and as a true citizen of a nation which remains in our hearts the land of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln."

"HE WAS IN THE WAY": These were some comments in French newspapers, most of which featured Bloch's death on page 1:

COMBAT (anti-Communist Left): ". . . After the Rosenbergs were dead, a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign attributed to them crimes with which the prosecution had never even charged them. In face of the emptiness of the dossier, something better had to be invented. They had stolen the hydrogen bomb before it even existed. They had, according to the miserable McCarthy and his 'witness' David Greenglass, directed a spy network at Fort Monmouth more than three years after their arrest. But that was not enough: the crusaders of McCarthyism were thinking about the two children, Michael and Robby, whom the Rosenbergs had entrusted in their last wishes to Maitre Emanuel Bloch. It was apparently necessary to tear the children away from his influence and put them in a 'right-thinking' public institution, in order to bring them up in hatred of their parents. But the defender of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg was on his feet, fighting. He had faced almost alone the unleashing of passions. He was superfluous, he was in the way. . . . [Proceedings to disbar him were brought on] a pretext which is not even valid under American law. . . . In the U.S., the President is not only the chief executive but the head of government and his actions can on that basis be freely criticized by all citizens. . . ."

LE MONDE (liberal): ". . . For three years Maitre Bloch had given himself body and soul to the defense of the Rosenbergs. Because of this passionate defense pro-

(Continued from Page 6)

Use old Guardians to win new subscribers. Mail them to your friends.

LYNCHINGS

The forms change; but the 'force and violence' has not

By William L. Patterson
Exec. Secy., Civil Rights Congress

FOR more than two decades Tuskegee (Ala.) Institute, founded in 1880 by Booker T. Washington, has published an annual record of U.S. lynchings. Its definition of lynching excluded murderous attacks on Negroes by "peace officers" and such killings as those of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore at Mims, Fla. None of the court decrees which send innocent Negroes to their death—the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee cases being classic examples—were listed as lynchings. Still, the record has had considerable value.

Tuskegee's announcement that it will end this annual report, at the moment the influence of McCarthyism is increasing, is a matter of great concern; and significantly it has inspired little or no serious analysis of lynching by any of the press. The N.Y. **Times** (1/6) only "hoped . . . that the Soviet press will so notify its readers" that we have stopped killing Negroes in a certain way. The N.Y. **Amsterdam News** (1/16) saw need of "stronger public opinion and stronger federal laws . . . to prevent acts of violence that are still in existence."

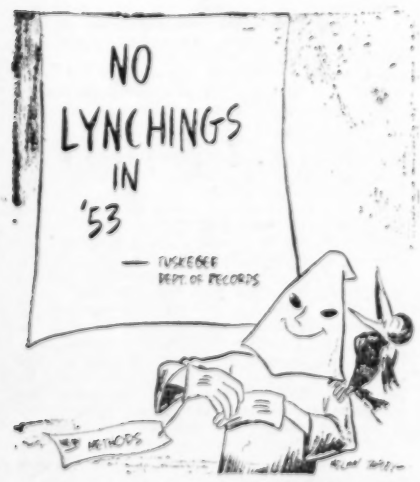
"NO LONGER VALID": Tuskegee pres. Dr. L. H. Foster gave these reasons for ending the statistics:

> "Lynching . . . as a barometer for measuring the status of race relations . . . seems no longer to be a valid index to such relationships. A new measure . . . is now available. [It] will be based on employment and other economic conditions, politics, education and health, as well as possible fields 'significant for the present times.'"

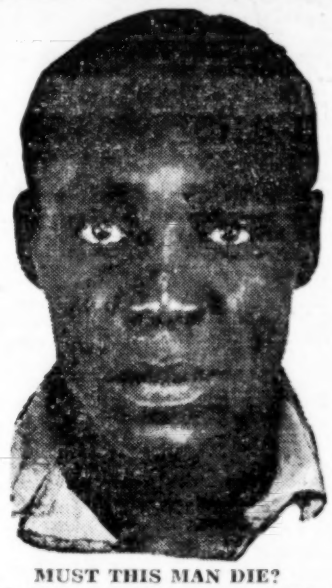
Such a report will, of course, have considerable merit. But that's another story.

Lynching—regardless of its varied forms—is an official weapon against the Negro people in the areas of economics, politics, education and health. The government will continue to wield this terror weapon until an aroused people dictate an end. Most Americans' unquestioning acceptance of the "free-people" tag as applied to our country, despite the unfree condition of 15,000,000 black citizens, shows unreadiness to wrench the lynch weapon from the official hand.

PROTECTED TERROR: The slave-owning landlords suffered political defeat in the Civil War; to regain their power they organized the Ku Klux Klan. The KKK flourished—and flourishes—only by sanction of the government. Then it was the Republican Party in control; since then, whether under Republican or Democrat control, this



New York Amsterdam News
USING GLOVES!



MUST THIS MAN DIE?
This is Robert Wesley Wells, condemned to die in California's gas chamber, for injuring a prison guard with a cuspidor after unspeakable provocation. The decision is in the hands of Gov. Goodwin Knight, Sacramento, Calif., and the eyes of the world are on him. You can help save Wells' life by writing to Knight for clemency.

symbol of official terror, with lynching as its weapon, has continued.

The KKK could never have flourished except for the federal government's conspiracy to rape and murder the Reconstruction. The Reconstruction governments remained in power only so long as the federal government and the Republican Party protected with federal troops the new ruling class of ex-slaves and dispossessed whites. The Republicans, toward the mid-70's, saw defeat looming in the next Presidential election. When Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden in 1876 both claimed victory, Northerners and Southerners compromised: the former slave-owners would help Hayes into the Presidency if he withdrew all federal troops from the South. That was done.

Negro History Week

The unsigned articles on these pages were prepared for this issue by Eugene Gordon of the GUARDIAN staff.

The rebels, with the KKK, took over. They have reigned ever since.

CHANGING FORMS: Northern capital's objective was to gain ascendancy of Southern economy. Extreme exploitation of the Negro was essential if the profits were to flow unchecked. Terror was and remains an imperative weapon in this exploitation, more than 5,000 having been lynched even before the Institute began to record such murders "as a barometer measuring the status of race relations." So Tuskegee never viewed lynching as an official form of terror, though neither state nor federal government ever arrested and convicted a single lyncher or legislated against that crime.

The early vigilante gangs of leading citizens later gave way to civilian mobs, consciously incited by race hatred pumped into them through every medium of propaganda. Protests and condemnation gradually changed the form of lynching. Legalized police brutality began displacing the mob; lynching entered the court-room, where, after a "trial" according to "due process of law," it became legal.

These murderous attacks became "miscarriages of justice." The 14th Amendment, instead of being the shield against violations of the Negro's civil rights, became a shield for monopoly and a sword against the Negro. The U.S. Supreme Court has proved it time and again in its refusal to review cases of victimized Negro men and women. The FBI even made an agreement with the N.Y. police not to investigate police brutality against Negroes. President Eisenhower in his State of the Union speech made no reference to any of this.

"WE WANT AN END": The "Lynching Letter" will be stopped. Tuskegee no longer wants to emphasize what it regards as an essential, rather than a decisive, factor in race relations. Here it surely is on sound ground. But terror against the Negro people continues. It is a dominant feature of McCarthyism; which means that the Negro people must seek to merge their struggle for full equality with the struggle against reaction in general.

Our government fails to ratify the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention Against Genocide, and the Convention on Women's Rights. Reasons are openly given: to ratify them would call for a change in domestic policy. The government doesn't add, of course, that ratification would also affect its attitude toward the use of atomic weapons.

We want an end of the government's "force-and-violence" policy toward the Negro people. Therefore we want the facts revealed. Lynching must go, regardless of the forms it takes. Let us have a letter on New Forms of Lynch Violence and How to End It.

W. E. B. DuBOIS WRITES OF THE DECISION THAT TURNED TH

1876 & after: Democrac

By W. E. B. DuBois

DEMOCRACY is not perfect. It only promises that by continuous appeal to the experience and commonsense of the mass of people in any case—but particularly if these people be increasingly educated—you get the closest approach to universal wisdom that human beings can hope for. When you deny this process even with a few people and in a limited region you begin to ruin it for the whole nation.

That is exactly what we have done since 1876.

The beginning of Democracy's present failure in America was the repudiation of the democratic process in the case of black American citizens in the South. As Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stephens insisted, Democracy demanded the ballot for the freedmen after Emancipation. To prevent harm to the state from ignorance, poverty and disease, this enfranchisement, however, should be accompanied by education, a minimum of land and capital and a guardian Freedmen's Bureau.

This the nation did not supply. The Church provided temporary aid in education, but Industry refused to be taxed for "forty acres and a mule."

HOW IT WAS DONE: But more than that the nation's business, already big from war profits and wishing to grow bigger, did not propose to pay for the property loss in emancipated slaves; refused to consider payment of the Southern war debt, and insisted that the huge national war debt contracted in depreciated greenbacks should be paid in inflated gold. In addition it demanded a high tariff so as to be able to sell its products at high prices.

Northern Industry gave the vote to the freedmen so as to force the white South to assent to these conditions. The white South, which was proposing to return the blacks to virtual slavery and also count the black population as basis of its political power, was forced to compromise. It asked that the Negro should be disfranchised and the profit of the subsidized business go to private capital and not to the welfare of Southern workers, black and white. That is, that Democracy should be repudiated in the South after Emancipation as before.

THE HARVEST: The North assented. After all, it said, this only applied to the South, and to a group of people from whom little could be expected and less wanted.

As a nation, we clung to the idea that in the North Democracy would survive and grow. But as the Good Book says:

> "Be not deceived. God is not mocked. For whatever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

Of course we moderns have long since ceased to believe this, so far as individuals are concerned. We have seen too many murderers become noble lords, too many thieves become respectable millionaires.

But so far as nations are concerned we try to hold our faith. Thus the United States, having started with the ideal of Democracy and having accomplished much in that direction, today refuses to believe that it has lost most of what it once had.

9 OUT OF 11: And yet, consider the situation. Passing over 3,000 lynchings, mob-rule and political anarchy in the South from 1876 to 1910, recall the great decisions this nation made in the 20th century:

1) To enter the First World War; 2) to help

EMANCIP

overthrow the Russian R
rescue the nation from d
4) to ally the nation with
Fascism; 5) to drop the
suffering Europe by the M
pare for war with Comm
in Korea; 9) to refuse
China; 10) to delay peace
revolt in all Communist

Most Americans do not
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THE NEGRO LABOR FRONT IN

There were gain

These were some highlights of the Negro people's struggle on the labor front in 1953:

RAILROADS: The N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination announced acceptance of N. C. James, a Negro Penn. R.R. steward, as a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, first since it was founded 70 years earlier. The Penn., N.Y. Central and N.Y., New Haven & Hartford railroads, and the Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhoods of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen and of Locomotive Engineers, pledged to end discrimination against Negroes on seniority lists in jobs previously closed to them.

Charles Morris of N.Y.C. became the first Negro brakeman in Penn. R.R. history in October. The Railroad Trainmen "welcomed" him; SCAD commissioner Elmer Carter said the railroad had opened jobs for Negroes up to highest rank of conductor. The R.R. Employes' Assn. Against Discrimination called Morris' hiring "an event of tremendous importance . . . to all Americans" but only "a welcome first step in

ED THE TIDE

racy & America's Negroes

Anonymous

MANCIPATION

ussian Revolution in 1918; 3) to
from disaster by a "New Deal";
ion with the Soviet Union against
rop the atom bomb; 6) to assist
by the Marshall Plan; 7) to pre-
h Communism; 8) to make war
refuse to recognize Communist
lay peace in Korea; 11) to incite
mmunist countries.
do not seem to realize that all
momentous decisions were made
ocratic consent or in direct con-
se democratic decisions.

STER: Who in this nation had
override Democracy? It was with-
ness; its opportunity started with
the post-Civil War period, and
sfranchisement of the freedmen
South wield ten times its normal
put that power in the hands of
To this was added bribery and
where poor foreigners were herd-
borough vote of small Western
money power" control of elections
the growth of trusts. Industry
and strong that Teddy Roosevelt
against monopoly which Wilson
diverted his thought and energy.

But Nemesis intervened in 1929 when the greed of Big Business brought disaster and it had to beg Government for relief. Democracy, restored to power under Franklin Roosevelt, got a chance to dictate the destinies of America for 16 years.

DEAD PROMISES: Then came the European war against Fascism. This diverted the New Deal from public welfare to war. The public opposed war but believed in Roosevelt when he promised that the object of this war must be Freedom of Speech and Religion, Freedom from Fear and Poverty. He even planned after the war a union of nations for preserving peace. Then he died; with him died his plans.

There suceeded to the vast power of the Presidency a man whom no American dreamed would occupy this position. He was a well-meaning but uneducated man, with no background of experience or breadth of view. He surrendered to Big Business before he knew it.

SCIENTIFIC INSANITY: Under a determined effort on an unprecedented scale, this nation was forced by Big Business to apply the new discoveries of psychological science toward making the people believe what was not so and do what no intelligent nation in its right mind would dream of doing. After reluctantly joining with the Soviet Union to overthrow Hitler, Big Business proceeded to go far beyond Hitler in national propaganda and force the nation and the world precipitantly toward a third world war.

In 1948 the vast majority of Americans wanted peace, wanted to continue to curb the power of Big Business by promoting the public welfare and reducing private profit. But American Big Business was fighting for its life and knew it. Most of the civilized world was socialistic and growing more so. The best traditional areas of making private profit, like Russia, the Balkans, the colonies and quasi-colonies of Asia and Africa and the Americas, would soon be closed to exploitation just as we were preparing to succeed the British empire and annex German technique.

American Big Business therefore made it impossible for us to appeal to the people, by depriving the nation of access to the truth and supplying them with lies and liars; by stopping free discussion and making our natural leaders of thought afraid to speak on pain of jail or starvation.

ON THE EDGE: The Progressive Party was kept off the ballot in most states and off the platform and radio in nearly all the rest. Through fear and ignorance most voters had to choose between Truman who dishonestly promised peace and the Fair Deal, and Dewey who honestly promised nothing. Truman and his Congress therefore took over the government in 1948 with no democratic mandate.

In the next campaign political machines subservient to Big Business dictated the nomination of Eisenhower and Stevenson, and no American had a chance to choose between war and peace or between public welfare and private profit. Eisenhower did not try to stop war but promised more war by attack on China and promoting revolt in Communist countries. He then proceeded to sidestep and contradict himself so completely that the nation now doubts his ability to think logically or to stand on his own feet if he has any feet. As a result we stand on the edge of another of the well-known capitalistic depressions.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS FRONT IN 1953

Jimcrow barred at table—on the run in schools

THESE selections from the Associated Negro Press "Year's Roundup of Civil Rights Progress" say nothing about the actions—some beginning years ago—which made that progress possible. Two examples: (1) U. S. Supreme Court's upholding of the 1873 statute "prohibiting public eating places to refuse service because of race or color" resulted from actions begun in 1951 by Mrs. Mary Church Terrell and her Co-ordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D. C. Anti-Discrimination Laws; (2) the D. C. part in the fight against jimcrow grade and elementary schools—now awaiting high court decision—originating in this committee.

Armed Services

HARRISBURG (Pa.): Governor orders end to segregation in state police and opens way for Negroes as state troopers.

WASHINGTON: Veterans Administration declares it is moving "as rapidly as possible" to end jimcrow in VA hospitals. Defense Dept. sets June, 1954, deadline to kill jimcrow in army and fall, 1955, in state-operated schools on military posts.

Citizenship

RALEIGH (N. C.): Anti-mask, anti-cross-burning statute adopted; also law regulating sale and use of explosives as move to prevent hate-bombings.

MOBILE (Ala.): White jury frees Negro youth charged with raping white woman.

TALLAHASSEE (Fla.): Explosive Control Bill, aimed at statewide regulation of explosives sales, passed.

NEW ORLEANS: Dist. court dismissed indictment against Negro because no Negroes on grand jury.

DREW COUNTY (Ark.): State supreme court reverses conviction and orders new trial of Negro because of lily-white jury.

WASHINGTON: Supreme Court (Avery v. Georgia) sets aside death sentence because jury which tried Georgia Negro chosen on basis of race. Court outlaws Texas (Terry v. Adams) "Jaybird" primary as device preventing Negro vote.

THE MOTHER by CHARLES WHITE

One of six drawings in a portfolio published by Masses & Mainstream, 832 Broadway, N. Y. C. ($3).

Education

PHOENIX (Ariz.): Complete non-segregation in elementary and high schools by Sept., 1954, predicted by school officials; state supreme court rules invalid 1951 statute permitting local boards to segregate.

TOPEKA (Kans.): Board of Education ends jimcrow in elementary schools.

DENVER: Colorado-Wyoming Assn. of Collegiate Registrar and Admission Officers delete references to race, religion or church preference from application blanks.

ATLANTA: First Negro elected to Board of Education.

GADSDEN (Ala.): Cumberland Presbyterian Church Genl. Assembly admits Negroes to theological school.

PEORIA (Ill.): American Fedn. of Teachers votes to void charter of any local practicing jimcrow.

BLACKSBURG (Va.): First Negro undergraduate admitted to Virginia Polytechnic Inst.

Employment

CHICAGO: First Negro attains cabinet rank as Illinois director of public safety.

WASHINGTON: Executive order establishes Govt. Contract Committee to supervise compliance with federal fair employment policy in govt. contracts. Dist. board of commissioners orders anti-bias clause in future contracts let by city.

LOS ANGELES: Negro and white locals of musicians merge.

INDIANAPOLIS: First Negro trolley-car drivers hired.

Housing

CHICAGO: Housing authority admits Negro tenants to previously all-white projects. State circuit court refuses condemnation of property owned by Negro doctor, thwarting efforts to drive him out and turn his land into public park.

WASHINGTON: Jimcrow ended in 2,000 public housing units, making 37% of all D.C. public housing Negro-white. Supreme Court rules (Barrows v. Jackson) 14th Amendment forbids damage awards for breach of racial restrictive covenants.

OHIO and Indiana federal district courts and California Court of Appeals also ruled against restrictive covenants, while Minnesota and Connecticut legislatures acted against jimcrow in public housing.

Public Accommodation

BOSTON: Damages awarded Negro plaintiff denied accommodations at motor court. Legislature extends anti-discrimination laws to prohibit exclusion of any person from "any place whether licensed or unlicensed, which is open to and accepts or solicits the patronage of the general public, for reasons of race, religion or class."

PHILADELPHIA: Federal Dist. Court awards $600 damages to four Negroes arrested for resisting segregation in an Oxford, Pa., theater.

WASHINGTON: Supreme Court upholds 1873 statute prohibiting public eating places from refusing service because of race or color, thus voiding long-standing jimcrow tradition of capital restaurants. All but few of capital's independently-owned motion picture theaters forced to drop color bar.

HELENA (Mont.): Legislature repeals ban on Negro-white marriage.

NT IN 1953

gains on the railroads, in packinghouse and the mills

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gaining equal job rights for Negroes in the railroad industry."

PACKINGHOUSE: The CIO United Packinghouse Workers' first Anti-Discrimination Conference in Chicago last November, attended by 500 delegates from 130 UPWA locals including Puerto Rico, heard reports of victories ranging from the routing of jimcrow at plant cafeterias and locker rooms to jobs won for Negro women and men where they were previously barred. The convention pledged to wipe out segregated facilities such as cafeterias, drinking fountains and pay lines, setting May, 1954, when the next UPWA convention meets, as target date.

TOBACCO, TEXTILE: The Natl. Planning Assn.'s Committee of the South, headed by Duke University economics prof. Donald Dewey, drew these conclusions in a 2-volume report on Negro employment in Southern tobacco and textile industries: (1) The kinds of jobs open to Negroes have remained remarkably the same through 15 years; (2) in the few instances where white and Negro workers do the same jobs they get the same pay and benefits; (3) Negroes in a few instances have been moved into jobs previously held by whites, including textile supply jobs in S. Carolina; (4) white and Negro seldom work side by side at identical operations; (5) Negroes are totally excluded from white-collar jobs in white-managed industries; (6) Negro workers have barely a toehold in supervisory jobs; (7) a chief obstacle to Negro upgrading and opening of new jobs is lack of general education and of technical training establishments for Negroes.

RADIO: The Natl. Broadcasting Co. hired Miss Arden E. Hill, 22, daughter of a Lincoln University faculty member, as first Negro TV program editor.

HOTELS: The Greater N. Y. Negro Labor Council's stepped-up campaign (begun Nov., 1951) to break through the hotel industry's jimcrow hiring and upgrading practices resulted in hiring of several Negro waitresses by Brooklyn's Hotel St. George; upgrading of a Negro maid to housekeeper at the Whitehall; a promise by Sherry-Netherland management that "all applications will be given equal consideration."

FEPC: A thousand delegates and observers representing more than 1,000,000 Negro and white voters and led by AME Church Bishop George W. Barber descended on the Michigan legislature in February demanding that an FEPC law be passed.

Locally, the most spectacular and successful continuing demonstration was put on by the Community Fair Employment Practice Committee of lower Washington Heights, N. Y. C., which by the end of 1953 had (1) forced the owners of a 7-story rooming house to withdraw a 15% rent increase; (2) picketed a vegetable and fruit market paying a Puerto Rican worker 50c a day until he was given a living wage; (3) won $225 back pay for a schoolboy market employe who had been paid 20c an hour; (4) forced four bakeries in the area to hire Negro saleswomen for the first time. The committee worked closely with NAACP, churches, Negro press, women's organizations, and individuals in the neighborhood.

McCarthy rides high

(Continued from page 1)

dragon-slayers were building up for a big year. Atty. Gen. Brownell proudly listed the box-score of the Eisenhower Administration, boasted of legal action agafnst 54 Communist Party leaders, 12 "front groups' and 714 "subversive" aliens. In addition, he pointed to 12 unionists indicted on charges of falsely signing Taft-Hartley affidavits. He added that he is now under White House instructions to study proposals for outlawing the CP.

Brownell was actively pushing for enactment of laws to legalize wire-tapping and to destroy the Fifth Amendment; he also announced he will seek a law providing tougher penalties for "harboring" political fugitives. The President's own proposal to strip citizenship from those convicted under the Smith Act was formally submitted to Congress. Three Republican Senators, Potter, Ferguson (Michigan) and Smith (Maine), introduced bills that would brand the CP as a world-wide conspiracy and make membership in it a crime.

DRIVE ON LABOR: For the trade unions, Sen. Butler (R-Md.) scheduled hearings beginning Feb. 17 on his bill to put the labor movement under the administration of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and a House subcommittee was authorized to begin a probe of "labor racketeering."

In the House, Reps. Bennett (D-Fla.) and Keating (R-N. Y.) introduced identical bills to rewrite the treason law, remove its historic safeguards and make it apply to anybody plotting to overthrow the government, by force or otherwise. Chairman Velde of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was for a law making simple proof of membership in the CP sufficient to convict under the Smith Act. In Texas the state attorney general proposed the death penalty for convicted Communists.

J. PARNELL'S BACK: The spy-hunters were also readying for a big year. Sen. Jenner came up with a charge that the "White House" in 1944 ordered military files on "subversives" destroyed, hinted that not all were done away with. And Brownell reported finding 20,000 "lost" documents concerning "spies" and "foreign agents" in government.

All this seemed perfect political climate to ex-Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, former head of the Un-American Activities Committee, who served eight and a half months in prison for running a kick-back racket but was pardoned by Harry Truman on Christmas Eve, 1952. From New Jersey he announced his intention to run for Congress again.

A top corporate lawyer-industrialist speaks out

THE STATE certainly has the right to protect itself from subversion; but the individual citizen has the right to freedom of speech. . . . How is the balance between the two rights to be struck? . . . Public attention has largely been directed to the way the issue is being treated by legislative investigating committees.

The investigative process . . . can be abused and I don't hesitate to say that it is being abused. . . . A man named in these processes is not technically being prosecuted for a crime, but, particularly with the hippodrome procedures that have developed, he can be punished at least as severely as if he were on trial, and without the protection that our law has always thrown around an accused person. He has no right to know in advance what he is charged with, no right to confront his accuser, no right to call witnesses in his own defense, to have his own counsel, to cross-examine. . . .

Of what use is a presumption of innocence when a man is charged with a crime from the shelter of Congressional immunity or subjected to grilling and bullyragging under kleig lights and television? . . . The favorite enterprise at the moment seems to be keeping score on the number of witnesses who invoke the fifth amendment as justification for not testifying. At the last count the Jenner committee was well ahead of the Velde committee. The competition would be comic if the effects were not so serious. But they have succeeded in creating a feeling in the public mind that anyone who invokes the amendment is presumably guilty. . . . This amounts to a repeal of that much of the Bill of Rights. . . .

I am alarmed that so many folk under the spur of partisanship shrug their shoulders and say, "Oh, well, we don't like the methods, but an important service has been rendered by these investigators." Are we prepared to say that methods are unimportant and adopt the old immoral principle that the end justifies the means?

—From an address by Laird Bell, head of top corporate law firm Bell, Boyd & Marshall (Chicago), board chariman of Weyerhauser Timber Co., published by Madison (Wis.) Capital Times, Jan. 18.

Bloch mourned

(Continued from Page 3)

ceedings had been brought to exclude him from the New York bar. Without any doubt this final threat had profoundly affected him. Nevertheless he had stated a few days ago his intention to continue the fight. . . . He had already sacrificed all to this defense of the Rosenbergs: his professional future, his personal fortune, his peace of mind. Whatever may have been the immediate cause of his death, it was certainly a consequence of the efforts he had expended. With him the Rosenberg children lose more than their legal guardian."

LIBERATION (progressive): ". . . It is impossible to forget the incredible campaign waged in the U. S. against the man who insisted on continuing to defend the memory of the 'lovers of liberty.' . . . He was threatened with disbarment from his profession for having honored it perhaps more than anyone. . . ."

"WE MUST PRESS ON": In New York, this eulogy was read Feb. 3 by lawyer Charles Rothenberg and adopted as an expression of its feeling by the directors of the N. Y. C. Chapter, Natl. Lawyers Guild:

"The same words of homage that are being paid to his memory were said of him while he lived. Only now we miss him: he shall no longer share with us our pride in the added luster that he brought to our calling. He will be remembered for his gentleness, his courage and tenacity, his everlasting dedication to duty. This he leaves us, this and a sense of debt. For we owe it to him, as to all the brave host among his colleagues that in every time have put principle before favor, to press on where he left off. We stand charged by his example with a high trust, to continue with every resource in the defense of this precious freedom to advocate. To that purpose we commit ourselves. It is our pledge and our covenant."

Joe Haber, 1953

Looking to Peace

Joe Haber Memorial

Friends of Joe Haber gathered in Cleveland Feb. 14 to honor on his birth date the artist who died last October at 51. Haber, crippled by polio at the age of seven months, lived to be an artist skilled in every medium and an active progressive whose help was never found wanting. In his wheelchair he was a familiar sight at many conventions and meetings of progressive organizations. An exhibition of his work was presented and plans were made for a permanent memorial. Anyone wishing to participate may communicate with Mrs. Edith Gaines, 10205 Adams Av., Cleveland 8, O.

●

Use old Guardians to win new friends. Simply send them out in an open end wrapper with a 2c stamp. They'll pay dividends every time.

Tommy-Gun For Junior To Make

One of the best ways to build the family spirit is to engage in family projects. And one family project is making things together, such as toys, like the tommy-gun illustrated here. The pattern for this machine-gun even gives instructions on how to make the realistic rat-tat device. "It is so simple to make that Junior can turn it out in his spare time with a little help from dad.

—Toronto Star Weekly, Jan. 23.

DAYBREAK IN CHINA

By BASIL DAVIDSON — Liberty Book Club's February Selection

Together with

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or
☐ Slave Mutiny, by William Owens
or
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"The World of Sholom Aleichem"

Arnold Perl's dramatization of three Jewish folk tales including Sholom Aleichem's "The High School" opened Feb. 13 at Chicago's 11th St. Theatre. The national company of actors is headed by Howard Da Silva as Mendele the Book Peddler (above), Jacob Ben-Ami, Anne Revere, Gil Green and Alice Childress. It's a solid hit in New York.

Conspiracy to inspire poetry

Walter Lowenfels was once a salesman of intercommunication equipment—a fine, apt job for a poet. He has not been out of the communicating business since.

Even before, when he was lugging the aluminum ware from door to door, trying to support his family, he was living his poet's profession, learning how to carry ideas and make them shining true, easy to see and hear.

When he was arrested recently by the F. B. and I. (as a neighbor puts it), he was busy publishing a long poem for peace and understanding among neighbors. Arrest at such a time is not a coincidence. Nor was it a coincidence that his neighbors were shocked by the midnight visit, and have shown their friendliness in many ways.

Each of us comes into the world of progressive thought through his own door, and for his own reasons. Lowenfels was one of many young artists living in Paris during the expatriate days, each in revolt against the babbitry of life and art in America. Some of these are still without country, and have never gone beyond the bohemianism of that day. The best of them, like Lowenfels, were taught by the Scottsboro case, the struggles of the Harlan County miners and of American labor, and by the reality of Spain, taught that home is where the struggle for truth is.

Lowenfels came home in the mid-thirties to write poems for miners and steel workers. He brought a new quality of wit and compassion into labor journalism. He became a student of Whitman and Emerson and worked to carry their prophetic hope to new American audiences.

The larger part of his work, however, has not been seen in print, but rather in the creative lives and works of other writers and artists. For this poet is something of a Claude Williams, an inspirer, a breaker of trails, and a counsellor to poets. He has conspired to help artists learn how to communicate the shining truth of understanding among neighbors. It is a conspiracy for which he will be honored.

An Old Friend

[Walter Lowenfels, who in 1932 shared with E. E. Cummings the Richard Aldington Award for American Poets, is one of the Philadelphia Smith Act victims. He was editor of the Pennsylvania edition of the Daily Worker. Below is an excerpt from his latest work, published at the time of his arrest last summer with five other Smith Act defendants. Ed.]

Snow peaks of the Urals! People of the Himalayas
Across the coral isthmus Korea, across the human isthmus—
from my own street, and from the Aegean frontier—
across the German basin, and the Great Divide:
Do you hear us?

The pounding of our hearts and feet, the knocks of our hands on your doors
bring you Good Morning, neighbors! H'ya partners! Shake!
Look for us this morning, with the first Western light,
bringing you peace, to be won.

—From "American Voices," the new poem for peace, by Walter Lowenfels. Ten cents from Whittier Press, P. O. Box 5405, Kingsessing Station, Philadelphia 43, Pa.

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CALENDAR

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BROTHERHOOD MEETING
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Chicago

LEO HUBERMAN, co-editor of Monthly Review, speaks Fri., Feb. 26, 8:30 p.m., on **"BEHIND THE LABOR PROBLEM TODAY."** Adm: $1. Woodrow Wilson Room, 116 S. Michigan Av.

EMANUEL H. BLOCH MEMORIAL MEETING, Sun., Feb. 21, 7-9 p.m. in the Music Room, 410 South Michigan Av. Presiding: Malcolm Sharp, Rabbi S. Burr Yampol. Auspices: Chicago Rosenberg-Sobell Committee.

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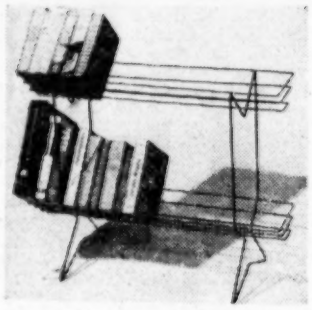

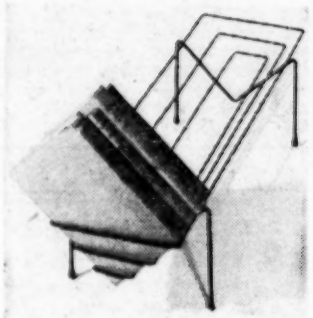

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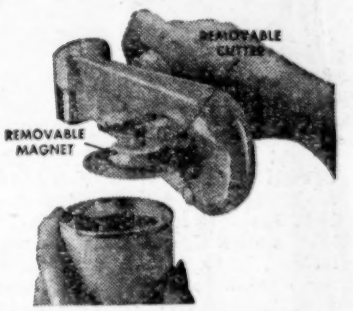

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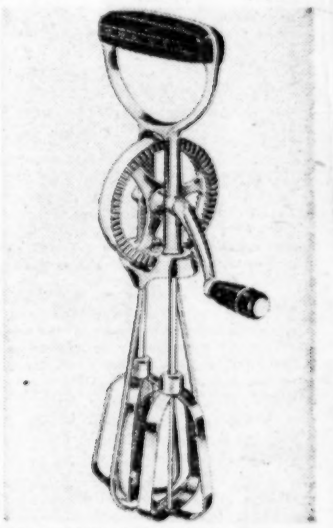

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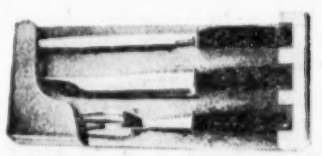

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9	.30	.55	.65	.80	1.00	1.24	1.52	1.77
10	.32	.59	.70	.87	1.10	1.36	1.67	1.95
11	.33	.63	.75	.93	1.19	1.48	1.82	2.13
12	.34	.67	.80	1.00	1.28	1.60	1.98	2.31
13	.36	.71	.85	1.07	1.37	1.72	2.13	2.49
14	.37	.75	.90	1.14	1.47	1.84	2.28	2.67
15	.39	.79	.96	1.21	1.56	1.96	2.43	2.85
16	.40	.83	1.01	1.28	1.65	2.08	2.58	3.03
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NEW YORK EDITION
Vol. 6, No. 17 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 15, 1954

THE GOOD NEIGHBORS

Marcantonio forms a new party for 'independent action'

IN ALBANY last week incorporation papers were quietly filed for the Good Neighbors Party, listing three directors: Vito Marcantonio, Elizabeth Sasuly and Michael Magliano.

Marcantonio, who resigned as state and N. Y. County chairman of the American Labor Party after the November elections, said: "I am forming the Good Neighbors Party for the purpose of taking independent political action. It is a sort of reserve force so that I will be able to move independently when the time comes. None of the existing political parties, Democratic, Republican, Liberal or American Labor, are responsive to the needs of the people. The Good Neighbors Party will be ready to nominate candidates from Governor to Assemblyman."

ALP OBJECTS: When Marcantonio resigned it was generally assumed he was "headed for Washington by way of First Avenue" (GUARDIAN, 11/9/53), that he was going back to the 18th C. D., which had kept him in Congress for 14 years. Detailed plans of the Good Neighbors Party still waited "on developments," Marcantonio said, but progressives welcomed its formation as the vehicle that might carry Marcantonio back to Congress.

The ALP resented Marcantonio's lumping it with the old-line parties. Its State Committee at a meeting Feb. 5 issued a formal statement which traced the ALP's current legislative program (GUARDIAN, 2/8), then said:

"The essence of the policy and program of the ALP is to encourage and organize all people of good will, regardless of political affiliation, to work together for the basic objectives of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal—for peace, economic security and our traditional American freedoms. It is the corrupt and degraded old-line leadership of the Republican and Democratic parties who have built up the McCarthys, McCarrans, the Veldes and the Jenners, who would destroy our freedom and are driving our country to economic ruin and to brink of war. Thus it is regrettable that Mr. Marcantonio lumps the ALP . . . with those old-line leaders who are its mortal enemies."

TO VIE OR NOT TO VIE: The ALP planned last week to put its program into action, called for a large delegation to leave for Albany Feb. 23 and for the "creation of a permanent, year-round People's Lobby and local community legislative workshops." On old-party rivalry the ALP statement said:

"The Republican and Democratic bigwigs are vying with each other in determining which of them paid more visits to gangster Luciano, but are not vying with each other in efforts to meet the problems of mounting unemployment, housing shortages or the disgraceful transit system."

DOMENECH CAMPAIGN: Marcantonio's name also figured last week in the complex battle of Manhattan's 14th A. D., where efforts across all party lines are under way to send a Puerto Rican to fill the As-

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)

VITO MARCANTONIO
"When the time comes. . . ."

THE DOUBLE-TALK TURNS TRIPLE

Wagner, Dewey spar on dough for city; Tammany gets halo

By Elmer Bendiner

MAYOR Wagner's state-of-the-city message to the Council last week sounded like an alibi. He said: "We can only do what the state permits us to do."

He called attention to all the doors which Albany had shut to city officials. He ignored the open door to revenue through which the city can, but will not, pass: real estate taxes from big commercial properties now assessed at 1932 valuations.

He pegged all of his program on Dewey, gathered seven lieutenants and headed for Albany. The conference with the Governor was held behind closed doors in the red-carpeted executive chamber generally reserved for felons when they plead for clemency. Reports said the lieutenants talked statistics. The Governor and the Mayor sparred for political advantage.

WHO ME? First reports indicated the city asked for $145,000,000 and the Governor replied that he would allow no "raids on the State Treasury." In a state election year it seemed an unfortunate way to describe a plea for money for housing, schools and pay raises. The Mayor said it had been an "educational experience."

After the first news stories, Dewey said he was "appalled" at reports that he had turned the city down, insisted he had "always worked with the Mayor of New York City."

Wagner took up the same tune at Tammany Hall's $59-a-plate dinner at the Commodore. He blamed the fare and rent rises on the Republicans but said the Democrats in the campaign would concentrate on GOP scandals.

HALOS APLENTY: The Mayor and company cast a golden glow over Tammany. Wagner described Tammany boss Carmine DeSapio as a man "of complete integrity" and a champion of progressive government. DeSapio stood Tammany's squalid history on its head. He said:

"If by Tammany the Republicans mean the records of Smith, Roosevelt, Wagner and Lehman, we accept the characterization with deep pride and certainly we offer no apologies."

He described Tammany in the last 150 years as "the welfare department of this city" in what seemed to be a reference to Tammany's traditional purchase of votes from the poor. He ridiculed the Governor's attempt to define ethics: "If [any public official] does not know the difference between honesty and dishonesty, he should resign at once." Tammany bosses, he implied, knew the difference.

INQUIRY CODE: The legislative committee on ethics held public hearings last week in New York, but ethics also ran. The committee discussed a code for legislative inquiries. It is considering proposals to give

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

GOV. DEWEY
He was appalled . . .

CARMINE DeSAPIO
He had no apology

THE "EQUALIZATION" RATES

New tax moves fog up city but leave undertaxed skyscrapers in the clear

POLITICIANS have dredged up scandals from the Yonkers raceway to the waterfront but the largest, continuing scandal in the city has been ignored. Progressives regularly raise it, ask questions, get no answers. The skeleton in the city's closet is the city's near-bankruptcy in a situation where big real estate goes undertaxed.

Last week state authorities opened the closet a crack and closed it again. The newspapers reported the city's real estate valuations at an all-time high: $20,369,499,758. The impression, given in a cloud of figures, was that the state had watched property values rise and accordingly was levying greater taxes on them.

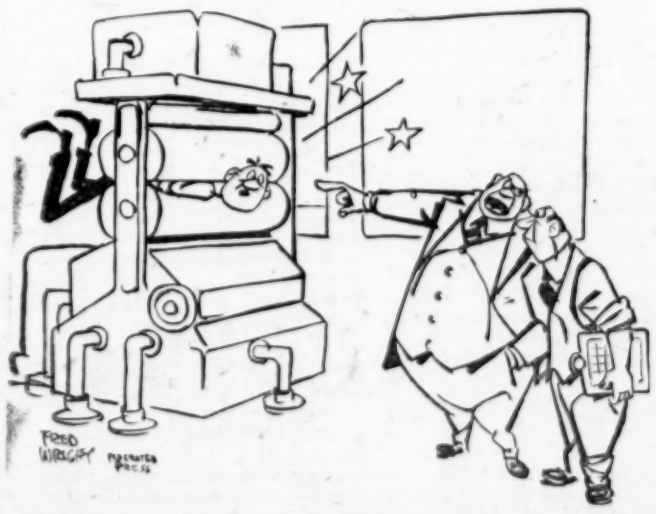
COLD FIGURES: On Wednesday night the Natl. Lawyers Guild's N.Y. Chapter held a conference on the city's fiscal problems at which Councilman Stanley Isaacs (R-Lib.) was billed as a speaker. In a prepared report the Guild considered 10 buildings almost at random, showed that their 1954 tax assessments, despite the talk of increased valuation, had not risen over last year's and were still below those levied in the depression year of 1932. Here are the assessment figures (in millions of $):

	1932	1954
9 Battery Pl.	8.1	7.8
N.Y. Stock Exch.	22	17
Mfrs. Trust Co. 55-59 Broad St.	3.8	3.2
Natl. City Bank 53-57 Wall St.	8.3	6.6
Chase Natl. Bank 15 Broad St.	17.2	15
40 Wall St.	26.2	19
Natl. City Bank 17 E. 42d St.	8.1	6
Stern Bros.	10.8	7
R. H. Macy Co.	27.2	23.5
Hotel Statler	13.3	11.4

NO SECESSION: The Guild report dismissed any "single panacea" (such as proposals to have the city secede from N.Y. State, or break up into five separate cities). It traced the rise in the city's budgetary requirements from $350 million in 1922 to $1.5 billion in 1952 and showed that revenue from real estate had risen from $455 million to $622 million.

In bad times the city cannot cut expenses, said the report, as the federal government can reduce the military budget or

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)



"Isn't there some sort of company regulation forbidding this sort of thing?"

Bloch memorial meeting Feb. 23

New Yorkers will pay tribute to the memory of Emanuel Bloch, attorney for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, in the Grand Ballroom of Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Av., Tuesday evening, Feb. 23. The tribute is sponsored by the Bloch Memorial Committee, Prof. Ephraim Cross, secy., 1050 Sixth Av. Speakers and other participants will be announced later.

IWO mass protest

A MASS MEETING to protest listing by the Subversive Activities Control Board of the Intl. Workers Order as a "communist front" will be held at 7 p.m. Feb. 22, at the Chateau Gardens, Houston St. and 2d Av.

The SACB listed the IWO on Jan. 14, said it had lost "by default" its right to exist. IWO representatives and counsel were present but prevented by the N.Y. State Insurance Commissioner from defending themselves or the organization. The Board's order, under the McCarran Act, threatens IWO members with serious infringements of their civil liberties.

The meeting, called by the IWO Policyholders Protective Committee, will hear prominent civil rights attorney John Abt, who is handling legal aspects of the IWO fight.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

CONTEMPORARY FORUM ANNOUNCES TWO NEW COURSES

★

Poetry and the Voice of Mankind
Lecturer: DR. FREDERIC EWEN
Readers: OSSIE DAVIS, RUBY DEE
(from cast of "Sholom Aleichem")
Mon., Feb. 15—8-9:30 p.m.
"Whitman—Poet of Democracy"

★

Philosophy: Yesterday and Today
Lecturer: DR. BARROWS DUNHAM
author of "Giant in Chains"
Thurs., Feb. 18—8-9:30 p.m.
"Philosophies in Competition—
Post-Hegelian 19th Century"

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GALA DANCE FESTIVAL featuring **EDITH SEGAL & 100 DANCERS.** With Al Moss and Bill Robinson. Madeline Simon, pianist. Sun., Feb. 14, The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. Tickets $1.80 & $1.20 on sale at Kinderland office, 1 Union Sq., Rm. 401. AL 5-6283. Benefit **CAMP FRESH AIR FUND.** Ausp: Parents Assoc. of Camp Kinderland.

THE AFFAIR WHERE EVERYONE always has a great time! That's the 3rd Annual Freedom Frolic in celebration of Negro History Week with Hope Foye, Beulah Richardson, Ralph Hayes & Orch. and many surprise packages. Sat. night, Feb. 20, Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 6th Av. (cor. 16th St.) Contribution: $1.25.

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS—Forum. Speaker: Ewart Guinier. Fri., Feb. 19, 8:30 p.m. East Midtown Club, ALP, 137 E. 34th St. Admission free.

MANHATTAN JEWISH CHILDREN Schools Bazaar, Feb. 19-22. 219 Second Av. (nr. 14th St.) Food and clothing for entire family, meals served.

JOHNNY RICHARDSON and his original songs. Special program for Negro History Week. Social, refreshments and a surprise package at Film Division's Weekly Surprise Party, ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Sat., Feb. 13, 9 p.m. Cont: $1.

JUDGE FLAGG, first Negro elected a judge in Brooklyn, will speak at Negro History Week observance, Holy Trinity gym. 157 Montague St., B'klyn, at 2 p.m., Sun., Feb. 14. "Freedom Auction" and "The Story of Phillis Wheatley," by Shirley Graham DuBois will be enacted. Songs by Earl Robinson. Separate cultural program for children simultaneously. Admission free.

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A WARM VOICE FOR BROTHERHOOD

Meet Alma John of WWRL

By Ione Kramer

"AND I hope, neighbors, that you all have a very good day," Alma John's friendly voice closes her "Homemakers' Club" program 9-9:30 a.m. Mon.-thru-Fri. on Long Island Station WWRL (1600 on AM dial). Alma John, who is one of the two Negro women with a radio program of her own (the other is Evelyn Robinson on Station WOV), used to be a nurse. Over the radio her voice carries the warmth and serenity which could make a patient — or a listener — comfortable.

"Broadcasting is not such a far step from nursing," she told the GUARDIAN. "Public relations for health is a facet which is just now being recognized. The more ways we can educate people to health the better." She learned this through her work as exec. secy. of the Natl. Assn. of Colored Graduate Nurses, she said. Through her work as coordinator of a New York Univ. intercultural program on women in the world she had done individual broadcasts; the 22d person interviewed, she was chosen when Station WWRL decided a year and a half ago to broadcast a woman's program with a Negro hostess.

MANY VOICES: Her program reports advances in race relations, food and homemaking tips. A sampling of recent program guests indicates the intercultural accent: Jamaican folk singer Louise Bennett; British West Indies dramatic producer Eric Coverly; a Chinese student and lecturer airing his views on American life; representatives of the Congress of American Indians depicting conditions of the Navajos; a Puerto Rican director from

ALMA JOHN
They settle back to hear

Bronx House with a moving plea for more day-care centers; a NAACP representative discussing the school segregation case in the Supreme Court; an Indian philosopher and a Jewish rabbi; two young Negro women describing their problems in setting up their own phone-answering business; two young women who toured Europe for $100.

BIG NEEDS, BIG DEEDS: Tuesday at the Homemakers' Club is "Yours for the Asking" day, when Mrs. John presents requests from listeners. Current needs include a piano for a disabled boy, a used refrigerator, transportation for a bed and some furniture which the program has secured for the family of an unemployed man with a new baby. Recently one listener took her unused washing machine to the home of a widow with four children whose request she heard on the program. Mrs. John said: "She wrote me that she and the young mother have become fast friends." Last week Mrs. John learned that her program helped a brother and sister aged 8 and 12 find a foster home.

On Wednesday the "Community Hall of Fame" honors "little people" who have done big things, like the 7½-year-old boy who conducted a playstore and raised $20 for the Playschools Assn. Some 25 have been honored since the program started a year and a half ago. They included handicapped workers who have achieved victory over their disabilities; social contributors like the man who invented the "talking books" records for the blind; the L. I. Hadassah for their effective "get out the vote" campaign last fall.

THE WORD: Thursday is health day, with guests on various aspects of physical and mental health; a series on maternal care will begin soon. Another series, "Friendship Through Food" (including recipes), is being planned with the help of the Natl. Conf. of Christians & Jews. On Friday "Youth Gets a Hearing." On recent programs high school students talked on juvenile delinquency, teen-agers discussed their visit to the Sirovitch "senior citizens club." Twice a month a program is devoted to guests with "Facts About the Negro."

In the copious mail Mrs. John has received from listeners, the letter she treasures most is one in Spanish from a former newspaper woman who calls Mrs. John a true "citizen of the world" and says the program has given her "renewed faith in the power of the written and spoken word for creating brotherhood."

Wagner, Dewey

(Continued from Page N.Y. 1)

witnesses a fairer break, but these seemed window dressing for a move that could completely undercut the Fifth Amendment.

Paralleling Atty. Gen. Brownell's suggestions, it would let investigating committees grant witnesses "immunity" and thereby force them to testify, inform on others or face contempt proceedings. That idea lay in the background, but was scarcely mentioned at the hearings. Instead, witnesses recommended a liberalized code for inquisitors.

Louis Waldman, chairman of the N.Y. State Bar Assn. committee on civil rights (one of his clients is ex-longshoreboss Joe Ryan) advocated giving witnesses the right to cross-examine their accusers, make pertinent statements, have their counsel with them at public or private sessions.

Herbert M. Levy, for the American Civil Liberties Union, offered an example of legislative propriety: Sen. Jenner's Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

WHO WILL RUN? In the governorship sweepstakes the odds shifted. These were straws in the wind: Gov. Dewey said he expected President Eisenhower would run for a second term. Reporters thought this meant Dewey had given up White

F. D. ROOSEVELT JR.
It gives you the Jimmies

House hopes, therefore might not want to hold the governorship as a jumping off-point, and might have meant it when he boomed Sen. Ives for the job. On the Democratic side, the James Roosevelt publicity was felt by some to have hurt his brother, F. D. Roosevelt Jr., and Averell Harriman's stock rose a point.

Roosevelt Jr. kept on running, though. He was said to have enlisted the support of Brooklyn boss Sutherland (an Impellitteri man but restored to good graces with the administration). Brooklyn **Eagle** columnist Harold H. Harris reported that Roosevelt Jr. had assured Tammany that, despite his "liberal" connections, he would remain "strictly organization."

Tax moves

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

go easy on road building. It must apply its funds to care for its citizens. In good times it cannot set money aside but is required by law to use the money to ease taxes in the following year.

RICH MAN'S BURDEN: The report declared the city to be "a concern of the state" and indicated state aid was necessary, but said also: "The burdens of the city's budget should be carried by those who benefit most from the city's population, its industry, business and services and in proportion to ability to bear the burden."

Recommendations of the report were: increase state aid; give the city the major share of revenues from the stock-transfer tax and the non-resident income taxes; authorize the city to collect the full 2½% real estate tax (it is now limited to 2¼%); revise valuations on big real estate; authorize a state bond issue of $600 million for school construction and modernization; have the state pay the costs of the four municipal colleges; work to obtain increased federal aid; substitute a business tax for the present gross business and financial tax.

STATISTICAL FOG: In another whirlwind of statistics the state last week announced it had lowered the "equalization rate" for the city from 97.3% to 86.8%. The average citizen could make little of the development and tax experts admitted they could not trace all the implications.

The step in effect declared that real estate values in New York are greater than is being currently estimated for tax purposes and would therefore permit a greater yield. It would not change the assessments on any piece of property but allow the city to levy a general tax rise of $56,250,000 spread over five years. It would also enable it to borrow more. The increased tax would fall on

small home-owners as well as on big building operators on whom the blow would be negligible. The latter would still be assessed at the same old valuations, below those of 1932.

Through the fog of "equalization" figures landlords saw one thing clearly: it might give them grounds for a rent rise under the clause in rent control law which guarantees them a "fair return" of 6% on their property.

Douglass painting at ASP reception

A recently discovered oil portrait of Frederick Douglass as a young man, by an unknown artist, will be unveiled Sunday, Feb. 14, at a reception given by the Natl. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions at its offices, 35 W. 64th St., 3-6 p.m.

The painting, done about 1840, was found at the Argosy Book Store on E. 59th St., which deals in rare books and pictures. It was evaluated for the ASP by Frank Banker, artist and antiquarian.

Richard B. Moore, lecturer and specialist on Douglass, will speak, and excerpts from the abolitionist's writings will be read by Maxwell Glanville, actor and director.

NO ROOM ON PAGE ONE

Mrs. Meyer and Dr. Bryson warn of peril to liberty

TWO notables talked up last week at school forums. Both warned grimly of domestic tyranny; newspapers buried both statements on back pages.

At Barnard College's sixth annual forum Washington **Post** publisher Mrs. Agnes Meyer said free education can be enjoyed now "only at the risk of one's reputation as a loyal American." She was sharp to liberals: "By and large the enlightened, rational and liberal Americans have allowed McCarthy and his imitators to capture the imagination of the masses, because they underestimated the power of unreason. . . The reasonable people are talking to each other while the rabble rousers have seized the initiative and are having a field day."

MRS. AGNES MEYER
Stop talking to ourselves

BRYSON vs. JANSEN: Dr. Lyman Bryson, Columbia professor emeritus and education director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, told the Scarsdale High School Parent-Teachers Assn. that freedom meant "the ability to make a choice among real, not imaginary, alternatives. . . . We give choices and try to teach what consequences arise from each. If the teacher is not free how can anyone else be free?"

Supt. of Schools William Jansen, who is sponsoring the city schools' most extensive witch-hunt and has ordered dismissal of teachers who claim protection of the Bill of Rights, last week set Feb. 14-20 as Bill of Rights Week, outlined school assembly programs along these lines:

"1) Pupils should know that the Bill of Rights was adopted in 1791 to protect and insure certain inalienable rights of the American people. 2) Pupils should know the basic liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. 3) Pupils should be taught that for every liberty or rights there is a corresponding responsibility or duty. 4) A contrast should be made between civil liberties in the U. S. and civil liberties in countries under totalitarian regimes."

Marcantonio

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

sembly seat vacated by Borough Pres. Hulan Jack. A committee of Puerto Ricans of all parties is backing Gregorio Domenech (Rep.). During the election campaign Tammany leader DeSapio and Wagner, then a candidate, had promised that a Puerto Rican would get the Democratic nomination, then broke their promise, named a Negro, Kenneth Phipps.

The move was taken in Harlem as designed to pit Negroes against Puerto Ricans. When Puerto Rican leaders voted to rally behind Domenech, the Harlem Affairs Committee and some other Negro organizations also swung behind him. The ALP, a part of the unity campaign from the start, charged that the Republicans were soft-pedaling their own campaign for Domenech and called for his election over the heads of all old-line party leaders. Election day is Feb. 16.

"DeSAPIO LIES": DeSapio had charged that Marcantonio was behind the moves in the 14th A.D. Last week **El Dario de Nueva York** featured Marcantonio's denial under the headline: "Marcantonio Says DeSapio Lies." Marcantonio in a letter to **El Diario** had said:

"The reason DeSapio uttered this lie is because he finds it necessary to cover up another broken promise to the Puerto Ricans. DeSapio's history with relation to the Puerto Ricans is well known to be a long chain of promises and lies. DeSapio has always been the enemy of the Puerto Ricans. It was DeSapio who raised objections when Impellitteri appointed Puerto Ricans. . . . It is time that this lying humbug be unmasked and exposed for what he is: an enemy of the Puerto Ricans, low, false, two-faced and treacherous."

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INTERNATIONAL FILM CLASSICS:

SCOTLAND: The Brave Don't Cry, nobility in a mine disaster. Feb. 12-14.

POLAND: The Last Stop (1948), courage in Auschwitz concentration camp. Feb. 19-21.

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THE AMERICAN SCENE, 1945-1953

The Roots of Happiness (1953, Henwar Rodakiewicz docum.) & **The Quiet One** (1949 study of a child), Feb. 15-21.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **1812** (Russian) & **The Great Caruso**, Feb. 18-19.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **Annapurna & Paris Express**, thru Feb. 17.

BARONET, 3d Av. & 50th St. **The Final Test** (Br., spoofs cricket), cont.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 85th. **Annapurna & Paris Express**, Feb. 17-20.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. **Turn the Key Softly** (Br.), thru Feb. 13; **Little Caesar & Public Enemy** (reissues), Feb. 14-16; **Titfield Thunderbolt & Project M-7** (both Br.), Feb. 17-21.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Spice of Life** (Fr., Noel Noel) & **Horse's Mouth** (Br.), cont.

52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. **Lili**, cont.

FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. **Conquest of Everest** (Br. docum.), cont.

GRAMERCY, Lexington & 23d St. **Little World of Don Camillo** (It.), cont.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. **Bedella & Blue Lagoon** (reissues), Feb. 14-16.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th. **Hamlet** (Br., Olivier reissue), cont.

HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. **Limelight & Kind Hearts and Coronets** (Br.), cont.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th St. **Heidi** (Swiss, Eng dubbed) & **White Mane**, cont.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. **The Golden Coach** (Italian-made in English, with Magnani in the Commedia dell'Arte), cont., reserved seats.

PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. **Captain's Paradise** (Br., Guinness), cont.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Julius Caesar**, cont.

60TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 60th. **The Holly and the Ivy** (Br.), cont.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d St. **Only Yesterday** (1933, Margaret Sullavan, John Boles), cont.

STANLEY, 7th Av. at 42d St. **Cossack Beyond the Danube** (Russ. operetta), cont.

SUTTON, 57th St. & 3d Av. **Genevieve** (Br. comedy), from Feb. 15.

SYMPHONY, B'way & 95th St. **Annapurna & Paris Express**, Feb. 12-18.

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Concourse. **Folly To Be Wise** (Br., Alistair Sim) & **Passionate Sentry** (Br.), thru

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **Little World of Don Camillo & Young Caruso** (both It.), Feb. 14-15; **The Robe**, Feb. 16-21.

Help Wanted

GUARDIAN ANGELS WANTED. Volunteers to help with office work. With or without typing. Half days, whole days, hours, regularly each week. Angels please call GUARDIAN, WOrth 4-3960

Events for Children

Films

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATL. HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. **Willie Skunk & U.S. Safeguards**, Wed., Feb. 17, at 4 p.m.; **Historic Virginia**, Sat., Feb. 20, at 2 p.m.

B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. **Travel Films & Comedies**, every Sat., at 2 p.m. Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **Grandma Moses** (portrait of an artist) & **A Better Tomorrow**, Sat., Feb. 13; **Land of Liberty**, Sat., Feb. 20. Films shown at 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.

N. Y. BOTANICAL GARDEN, Bronx Park. **Scandinavian and British Countrysides** (talk & kodachromes), Sat., Feb. 20, at 3:30 p.m. Free.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. DOCUM. FILMS: **Sons of Liberty; Due Process of Law Denied; The Golden West**, Sat., Feb. 20, at 2 p.m. Free.

BROADWAY THEATER, 1681 B'way. Film Shorts: **Catty Cornered; Copenhagen, City of Towers; Remember the Glory; Arabians in Rookies**, Feb. 13-16.

Plays

ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER, by Junior Theater. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Sat., Feb. 20 & Mon., Feb. 22., at 2:15 p.m. $1.20-$1.80. 20% less for groups of 10 or more. CI 6-0224.

HANSEL AND GRETEL, with music, dance. H. Mann's Children's Fairy Tale Theater. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Sun., Feb. 21, at 3 p.m. $1.20-$2. CI 7-7460.

MR. POPPER'S PENGUINS, by the Y Playhouse. Dramatized for the first time. Children's Center, YM-YWHA, 82d St. & Lex. Av. Sun., Feb. 21, at 3:30 p.m. Mon., Feb. 22, at 11 a.m. & 2:40 p.m. Half-price rates for groups of 20 or more. $1-$2. TR 6-2366.

PUSS IN BOOTS, Midwood High School, Bedford Av. & Glenwood Rd., B'klyn. Tickets & information from B'klyn College Community Serv. UL 9-2400, ext. 295. Sat., Feb. 13, at 2:30 p.m. 75c.

RUMPELSTILTSKIN, plus a variety show and Mike the Magician. Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan-Duane, 201 W. 13th St. at 7th Av. Performances every Sat. thru Feb. Mon., Feb. 22. All performances at 3 p.m. 76c-$1.80. PL 7-6200 or CH 2-9693 on day of performance.

THE DUTCH MILL, puppet show with Tommy Nolles. Henry St. Playhouse, 488 Grand St. Sat., Feb. 20, at 3 p.m. Children 10c, adults 60c. OR 4-1100.

Miscellaneous

HAYDEN PLANETARIUM, Central Park W. & 81st St. Our Neighbor Worlds. Feb. show. Weekdays, 2, 2:30 & 8:30 p.m.; Sats. 11 a.m., 2, 3, 4, 5 & 8:30 p.m. Children 40c, adults 60c (mats.) 95c (eves.)

N. Y. PUBLIC LIBRARY, 5th Av. & 42d St. **Old Fashioned Valentines** (exhibit), Mon.-Sat., 9-6 p.m. Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. at 103d St. EXHIBITS: ..**Heart of My Heart** (valentines of yesterday), **The Sea and the City & Tides of Time**, Tues.-Fri., 10-5 p.m. Open Mon., Feb. 20. Sun. & Holidays, 1-5 p.m.

STORY HOUR: Museum of City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **George Washington and New York**, Sat., Feb. 20, at 2 p.m. Free.

B'klyn Museum, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Sat., Feb. 20, at 10:30 a.m. Free.

FOLK & SQUARE DANCING, every Sat. night at Folk Dance House, 108 W. 16th St., at 8 p.m. $1.

SQUARE DANCING, at Henry St. Settlement House, 301 Henry St. Every Sat. night and folksinging. 8:30 p.m. 75c.

FESTIVAL OF INTERNATIONAL FILM CLASSICS
FEBRUARY 12-14:
THE BRAVE DON'T CRY
(Scotland) John Grierson's drama of endurance, nobility and self-sacrifice by men in an emergency.
Feb. 19-21: **THE LAST STOP**
Fri., Sat., Sun. at 8:30 & 10 p.m.
Members, $1; Non-Members $1.25
CLUB CINEMA 430 6th Av. Nr. 9th St.

"A COSSACK BEYOND THE DANUBE"
MAGICOLOR Extra "NEW POLAND TODAY"
STANLEY 7th AVE. bet 42 & 41 STS.

DEBUT CONCERT
Choral Workshop of the JEWISH YOUNG FOLKSINGERS
"This Land Is Yours & Mine"
Sat., Feb. 27 — 8:30 P.M.
Pythian Hall, 135 W. 70th St.
Tickets: $1.80, $1.20

EDITH SEGAL

With a company of 100 dancers will give a festival on folk themes for benefit of Camp Kinderland, at 3 p.m. Sun. Feb. 14, at The Pythian, 135 W. 70 St.

Where to Go

Drama

TIME OF STORM, on 17th-century witch-hunting in New England, by Sheldon Stark. Directed by Michael Howard, with Jane White starred. Greenwich Mews, 141 W. 13th St. 8:40 nightly except Mon. & Fri. Reserv: TR 3-4810. Opens Feb. 18.

EVERYMAN, morality play with Robert Kidd, staged by Ida L. Ehrlich. 8:40 p.m., Feb. 9, 10 & 13, mat. Fri., Feb. 12, 2:15 p.m. Labor Temple, 242 E. 14th St. $1.20, $1.80, $2.40. Everyman's Theatre, 152 W. 42d St. WI 7-5681.

SHADOW OF A GUNMAN, Sean O'Casey play on the Irish revolution. "Studio 8:40." Fri.-Sun., 8:40 p.m., 115 W. 52d St. $1.50. PL 7-6300.

CORIOLANUS, by Shakespeare, with Robert Ryan, directed by John Houseman. Phoenix Theater, 2d Av. & 12th St. Eves. Tues.-Sun. $1.20-$3. Sat.-Sun. mats. $1.20-$2.70. AL 4-0525. Thru Feb.

MADWOMAN OF CHAILLOT, with Karen Morley & Tony Kraber, dir. 8:30 p.m. Mon.-Thurs., Sun mat., 2:40. Actor's Mobile Theatre, 430 6th Av. Reserv: GR 7-2430.

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. eves., mats. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7845.

Music & Dance

JEWISH MUSIC: 3 generations. Yiddish, Hebrew & American folk songs by 500-member Jewish Music Alliance chorus, N.Y. Mandolin Symphony Orchestra, Raymond Smolover, tenor soloist; Aaron Kramer, narrator. 8 p.m., Sat., Feb. 13, B'klyn Academy of Music, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl. $1.20-$2.40. Jewish Music Alliance, 1 Union Sq. W., Rm. 710, WA 4-8311.

LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE, songs & dances with Jean Murai, Irving Burgess, Dolores Baez, Gilberto Rodriguez, John Montalvo & drums, 20-voice chorus. Spons: Latin American Research Bureau. 8 p.m. Sun., Feb. 14, Teachers Center, 206 W. 15th St. $1.20.

PEOPLE'S SYMPHONY CONCERTS, 8:15 Sat. eves., Washington Irving H.S., Irving Pl. & 16th St. Tickets: 75c at door or Rm. 1202, 32 Union Sq. GR 3-1391. No mail orders.

Mieczyslaw Horoszowski, pianist, Sat., Feb. 13.

Hungarian Quartet, Sat., Feb. 20.

LA PUMA OPERA, Educational Opera series, Joan of Arc H.S., 154 W. 93d St. Aida. 7:30 p.m., Sun., Feb. 14. Free. Reserv: call or write La Puma, 250 W. 91st St. TR 4-9646.

PIRATES OF PENZANCE, Comic Opera Guild. 8:30 p.m. Fri. & Sat., Feb. 12, 13, 20, 26 & 27. Mat. 2:30 p.m., Sun., Feb. 21, Textile H.S., 351 W. 18th St. Eves: $1.20-$1.50, mats: 90c & $1.20. NI 6-2457.

N. Y. C. BALLET, Geo. Balanchine, dir. 8:30 pm., eves. except Monday.; Mats., Sat. & Sun. $1.50-$3.60.

Tues. eves., Feb. 16: Swan Lake, The Cage, Valse Fantasie, Cakewalk. **Wed. eve., Feb. 17**: Serenade, Opus 24, Scotch Symphony, Pied Piper. **Thurs. eve., Feb. 18**: Cakewalk, Quartet, Harlequinade, Fanfare. **Fri. eve., Feb. 19**: Filling Station, Quartet, Harlequinade, Metamorphoses. Mats. & eves., Sat. & Sun., Feb. 20-21: The Nutcracker.

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Actor's Mobile Theatre presents
Karen Morley & Tony Kraber in
The Madwoman of Chaillot
with Clark Morgan
at 430 Av. of Americas (9th St.)
Mon.-Thurs., 8:40; Sun. mat. 2:40
For reservations call: GR 7-2430

Art & Photography

ROMULO LACHANTANERE, exhibit of the last works of the Puerto Rican photographer who was killed in an air crash last year. ASP Gallery, 35 W. 64th St. Thru Feb.

PAUL STRAND and his work, discussed by docum. film producer Leo Hurwitz, with examples of Strand's work. ASP Film Div., 8:30 p.m. Fri., Feb. 19, 35 W. 64th St.

ABSTRACTIONS IN AFRICAN ART, exhibit, sculptures, masks. Segy Gallery, 708 Lexington Av. Daily & Sat., 10 a.m.-5:30 p.m. Opens Feb. 19.

FOUR GRAPHIC DESIGNERS: Posters, pamphlets, ads by Ben Shahn, Herbert Matter, Leo Lionni, Noel Martin. Musem of Modern Art, 11 W. 53d St. 12-7 p.m. weekdays, 1-7 p.m. Sun. Thru Mar. 4.

Forums

BROADWAY FORUM: How Much Freedom Can We Afford? Religion: Rev. James A. Pike, Cathedral of St. John. 5 p.m. Sun., Feb. 21, Broadway Tabernacle Cong. Church, B'way & 56th St.

PERSPECTIVES FOR NEGRO FREEDOM. Symposium with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Victoria Garvin, Pettis Perry, Dr. Herbert Aptheker. 8:30 p.m. Sun., Feb. 14, Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. $1.

Songs & Dances of Latin America
Featuring:
JEAN MURAI
and
- IRVING BURGESS
- DOLORES BAEZ
- GILBERTO RODRIGUEZ
- JOHN MONTALVO & DRUMS
- 20 VOICE CHORUS

SUNDAY, FEB. 14 — 8 P.M.
Teachers Center, 206 W. 15th St.
DONATION: $1.20
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Latin American Research Bureau

Sean O'Casey's
"The Shadow of a Gunman"
Fri., Sat. & Sun. Nights — $1.50
115 W. 52d St. Curtain 8:40
For Reservations: PL 7-6300

Wanted: A definition of liberty

The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor.

Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one.

Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Baltimore, April 18, 1864

Free Concerts

EARLY MUSIC FOUNDATION, 16th & 17th century church music, N.Y. Historical Society, Central Pk. W. & 77th St., 3 p.m. Sun., Feb. 14.

STATION WNYC American Music Festival, Feb. 12-22. 20 public concerts free. Admittance without tickets at: B'klyn Museum, 3 p.m. Sat., Feb. 13 (violinist Abraham Shevelov, pianist Jacques de Menasche, baritone Hobart Mitchell, soprano June Kelley); B'klyn Museum, 2 p.m. Sun., Feb. 14 (Westchester String Quartet); McKee H. S., Staten Island, 8:30 p.m., Sun., Feb. 14 (St. Henry's Choristers, pianist Thos. Darson, soprano Phyllis Arick, guitarist Vanig Hovsepian, others); 3 p.m. Sat., Feb. 20, B'klyn Museum (Community Opera Co. with Menotti's **The Telephone** & Wilder's **Sunday Excursion**); Sun., Feb. 21, 2 p.m., B'klyn Museum (Branscome Choral & others); Sun., Feb. 21, 8:30 p.m. Carl Fischer Hall, W. 57th St. (Pianists Vittorio & Marion Verse, baritone Eduardo Rael, pianist Vera Franchesi).

For information on other concerts and free tickets to them, send stamped self-addressed envelope to WNYC, N. Y. C. 7.

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